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# SUMMARY REPORT FROM THE ROUNDTABLE: THE IMPACT OF SEPTEMBER 11 ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
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Canada

**SUMMARY REPORT FROM THE ROUNDTABLE:**
**THE IMPACT OF SEPTEMBER 11 ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY[1]**

November 27, 2001
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*At the request of the Assistant Deputy Minister for Communications, Culture and Policy Planning, John Higginbotham, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD) organised and hosted a group of 13 Canadians, senior policy makers and Ministers' staff to reflect on Canadian foreign policy and on international relations post September 11. Participants included John Polanyi (University of Toronto), Janice Stein (Munk Centre for International Studies), Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire, Bob Rae (Goodman Philips & Vineberg) Joe Schlesinger (CBC) and John English (University of Waterloo). Steven Lee (Executive Director, CCFPD) chaired the meeting.*

## 1. Introduction

The Chair welcomed all to the roundtable. He reminded the participants that the mandate of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development is to help Canadians contribute to foreign policy making. He noted that this was an unusual meeting because participants were being asked to address international relations writ large and the whole of Canadian foreign policy, rather than a specific policy development issue. He posed some framework questions, including: Do Canadians have interests in the world? What are they? Are they changing? Do we have permanent friends and allies or do we live in the world of flexible coalitions and partnerships of convenience? How do we assess old relationships and New Diplomacy? Are the three pillars of foreign policy still intact and still a useful way to see our interests? Participants were asked to think about threats (both military and other), influence (and for what purposes) and "making a difference." They were also encouraged to think about big trends at play: migration, modernisation, urbanisation, values shifts, distribution of wealth and power, evolving global norms and institutions, economic growth, recession, trade and investment.

The importance of both long term thinking and public contribution to policy making was emphasised by government officials. While policy makers are facing a world changed by the September 11 events, they continue to pursue Canadian long-standing commitments (i.e., negotiations on climate change and trade) and to maintain bilateral relations with other countries. September 11 has altered the framework of the Canada – U.S. relationship (including border management and cooperation at the multilateral level) and affected the agenda for the upcoming G-8 Summit meeting in July. While the priorities identified by the Prime Minister prior to

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[1]Chatham Rules were applied throughout the discussion, the results of which will be circulated and used for further consultations inside and outside the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

September 11 will remain, other pressing issues will be added and may dominate the agenda at Kananaskis, including:

- counter-terrorism,
- peace and stability in Central Asia, and
- management of the global economy.

Officials welcomed reflections on long term objectives for Canada's foreign policy and on lessons learned from the post September 11 crisis. How much has the world changed? How to turn the negative aspects of the attacks into positive outcomes?

**2. Historical Perspective**

Attention was drawn to how wrong political scientists and experts have been for the past 10 years about current analysis at any moment and even more about predicting trends. For example, neo-Wilsonianism of the early 1990's has given way to "realism" of the early 21st century. Optimism accompanying the end of the Cold War largely dissipated as conflicts erupted and the global economy slowed down. The hopes for a united Europe from West to East were dashed with the beginning of wars in the former Yugoslavia. The rising Asian tigers were hit by a far-reaching economic crisis. The health of the U.S. economy seemed threatened by a large debt and decreasing competitiveness from Japan.

The history of Canada-U.S. relations was also briefly addressed. The tension between the American tendency to "go it alone" and Canada's concern about being excluded from American decisions and actions continues to play out today as much as in the past (i.e., during the Second World War, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War).

Long term, big picture understanding of the September 11 events was encouraged. A point was made that while long-standing historical grievances do not justify the terrorist acts, they must be carefully considered. In order to reduce such threats in a systemic manner, deep ideological, material, religious and other divisions between the "West" and the rest of the world must be addressed.

**3. Security Implications and Immediate Policy Challenges for Canada**

One participant suggested it is necessary to deconstruct post September 11 policy interests and the current policy environment. September 11th is about security concerns. The appropriate response for Canada is to better integrate our own security information (CSIS, RCMP, Citizenship and Immigration, Refugee process) and then integrate that information with U.S. agencies (the FBI, CIA, Naturalisation and Citizenship) to provide greater security for ourselves, for the Americans and for others and a high level of confidence that the right information exists and that it is being shared. This does not mean harmonisation. We need to keep our immigration, refugee and other policies able to respond to our needs and interests while securing more perfect information sharing. This is the Canadian value added to the "war on terrorism." Frigates to the

Persian Gulf may not be the best Canadian value added, nor the best use of our limited resources.

We need to be aware, as well, of policy opportunists in the U.S. and in Canada who are taking advantage of the September 11th events and policy climate. These include proponents of vast public spending on improbable security threats (i.e., a Ballistic Missile attack from North Korea) and proponents of other policy initiatives (i.e., Dollarisation and further North American economic integration) that have nothing to do with September 11th needs and might well be deeply harmful to Canada's interests.

Strategically, it is time for a new Canada-U.S. "Grand Bargain" for information sharing and to define our own national areas of public policy outside pressures for harmonisation.

An important question regarding the war in Afghanistan is yet to be assessed by Canadians: Is the threat of recurrent terrorism sufficient to warrant a large-scale military action? Moreover, are the military tactics used in Afghanistan justified and exportable to other countries that shield terrorists? One participant pointed out that the military action was necessary to remove the shield from behind which a terrorist network recruits, trains and operates. The attack on the Taliban regime might have been key in achieving this objective. Others said that short term fixes (i.e., destroying the Taliban regime, killing Osama bin Laden) are unlikely to reduce the terrorist threat, may cause a backlash in the Middle East against the "West," and may lull Americans into a false sense of security. Long term efforts, beyond a military intervention, aimed at redressing historical grievances and improving the living conditions of the most marginalised people in the world are much more likely to enhance global security and peace.

The dilemma of using military force against a sovereign state to fight the "war on terrorism" extends beyond the war in Afghanistan. Are Canada and other Coalition members ready to fight in Iraq? When pondering this scenario, one should keep in mind the devastating effects of sanctions on the Iraqi population. A U.S.-led intervention would not likely receive much military and political local support and could backfire. There is also a question of lasting public support for Canada's military involvement, especially for missions beyond Afghanistan.

Some pointed out that the key to peace and security in the Middle East lies in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Others said that the conflict is being used by fundamentalists to justify their actions and if peace were to break out they would simply find another "just cause." While helping to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a worthy goal in and of itself, it will likely not prevent terrorism. One participant suggested that Canada needs to re-examine its role in the Middle East nonetheless. For example, how Canada handles pressure from the U.S. and from some domestic constituencies to support Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (who is by no means a moderate) will test Canada's credibility in the region.

Besides security and foreign policy, other spheres have been affected by September 11, including: immigration, culture, and the environment:

- Most participants agreed that tackling migration-related problems will pose serious

challenges to policy makers around the world. The growth of migration and refugee movements, mostly from the poor "South" to the rich "North," is being matched by calls in the "North" to clamp down on illegal refugees and to reduce legal immigration. The problem of internally displaced people was also identified as one of the biggest security challenges today. A point was made that rather than enhancing security, making immigrants unwelcomed, and treating refugees as criminals, Canada and other "Western" industrialised countries should address the "immigration threat" by promoting human rights, democratic development and sustainable economic growth in the countries from which immigrants and refugees originate.

- A point was made that the "war against terrorism" threatens Canada's cultural values. The "war" has opened a space for intolerance and prejudice, starting with an assumption that "terrorism can not be fought in a colour blind fashion."

- Another consequence of September 11 was that the global environmental agenda has been put on the back-burner once again. Canada should lead efforts to put environment back on the agenda – not everything has changed since September 11.

**4. Longer Term Policy Challenges for Canada**

One participant suggested that there is no strategic design for Canada's international activities. He said that the Canadian Government is pursuing tactical goals, sometimes in a counter-productive fashion, in the absence of a foreign policy and international strategy. Such a strategy should set out Canada's objectives in the world. The objectives must encompass more than the pursuit of "growth and prosperity" and should include:

- humanitarian and human rights dimensions (including a coherent aid strategy),
- advancing moderation and eliminating extremism,
- breaking cycles of conflict, and
- promoting abroad what we do best at home – being a leader in community and society building.

The absence of a future-oriented strategic design is having profound implications for defence policy, military preparedness and practice, especially. As the nature of war changes (i.e., from inter-state to intra-state) traditional war fighting preparations are no longer enough for defence planners. The government needs to better articulate its policy goals and expectations for the military to more exactly spell out the military's conflict prevention/resolution tasks and objectives. Training and new skills development are needed to enable this "transformation of war."

Canada has its own "Manifest Destiny" based on our history, international engagement and special characteristics (well recognized by others). The post September 11 crisis opens the door for Canada to reassert its internationalist and humanitarian role in the world amidst mounting pressures to accelerate militarisation and policy conformism. Canada needs to better define and

promote our own interests in foreign policy. These interests include:

- strengthening international/multilateral efforts and institutions on environment,
- promoting human rights,
- norm building and institution building (including the reform of the UN, supporting regional organisations/mechanisms),
- sustained aid to the poor with a Canadian value added (such as good, democratic governance, education, federalism).

The Third Pillar in foreign policy – promoting our culture and values - is key to all of this. Attention to the promotion of our culture and values can help provide the strategic design to our international policies, tactical advances, leadership opportunities and can profoundly reinforce our security and prosperity interests. Many participants stressed the need to recognise that there are risks and costs that go along with pursuing a "Manifest Destiny."

In a similar vein, several other participants pointed out that Canada's role in the "war against terrorism" is reactive and ill-defined. Since September 11, the Canadian government has been considering and reacting to the decisions of the U.S. and other leading Coalition members without formulating its own strategies. How much of a priority is September 11 to Canadians? Has it changed us in any significant way? What are we willing to do on our own terms? The need for Canadian initiatives was emphasised by participants for different reasons. Some argued that Canada must urgently demonstrate its willingness to share the burden of creating a world safe from terrorism by developing more aggressive, and perhaps costly, initiatives (i.e., improving our intelligence capacity). Others said that Canada should not be too hasty in entangling itself in short term, terrorism-focussed, U.S.-led initiatives. Instead, a long term, strategic approach such as outlined above should be taken.

Opinion varied about the degree to which Canadian foreign policy can be pursued independently. How much room do we have to manoeuvre with respect to our Coalition partners and especially the U.S.? While some suggested Canada can and should pursue its long-standing internationalist approach regardless of external constraints, others were sceptical about the ability of policy makers to chart our own course. Nonetheless, a point was made not to underestimate Canada's ability to accomplish objectives as a member of multilateral organisations, including the G-8.

Canadians need to understand better their inextricable connection to the world and the responsibilities that go along with that. Leadership is required to make Canadians more globally aware and engaged, not only in economic terms (i.e., trade, technology) but also politically and philosophically. In the aftermath of September 11, Canadians should be seized by questions about the nature of their country, the value of their sovereignty, and the complexity of their relationship with the U.S. How do we deal with terrorism without sacrificing our "character"? Given Canada's military engagement (readiness) in the "war against terrorism," the Prime Minister, Minister Manley, and other Cabinet members should promote the public interests in foreign affairs and challenge "latent Canadian isolationism."

The need to strengthen the role of civil society in formulating and articulating policies was stressed by some participants. Canada should lead as an example in engaging women, Arab Canadians, Afghan Canadians and others in policy making and encourage other governments to do the same.

## 5. Implications for the "International Community"

Foreign policy of the most powerful nations, including the U.S., France, and the U.K., in the 1990's continued to be driven by self-interest. The governments of these countries show no inclination to elevate their foreign policy rationale beyond a narrow national interest, to include global/human interests. "Where there is no national interest to defend, the human factor does not even hit the radar screen – leading one to the conclusion that some human lives are more valuable then others." When thousands of Africans died in Rwanda, nobody in the West cared, when hundreds of Americans died on September 11, the "international community" mobilised itself for a war. On a related note, the need to oppose oppressive regimes on a consistent basis was also raised. Do we respond only if we are threatened or also when a regime does not live up to global norms? The Taliban regime mattered because the terrorists it was protecting could attack other "Western" populations/targets, not because of its horrendous human rights record at home. Indeed, the oppressive regime of Saudi Arabia, for instance, does not seem to concern us.

A point was made that terrorism must be fought on an international level, which requires the strengthening of the international justice system and policing, disarmament, and other efforts. Canada should marshal international support for this approach, broadening the concept of the national interest. Otherwise, the "war on terrorism" will actually strengthen the terrorists. To this end, Canada should support and promote:

- the International Criminal Court (and international law in general),
- the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty and other disarmament efforts/regimes,
- the reform of the UN.

The nature of the new U.S. multilateralism was also addressed. U.S. efforts to build a multilateral Coalition to fight terrorism and the sudden repayment of UN dues may lead one to conclude that the U.S. government has embarked on the path of multilateralism. Several participants suggested that this is unlikely. They pointed out that both the Coalition and potential UN engagement in Afghanistan are serving U.S. interests and have little in common with multilateralism. Still others said that the U.S. can not fight terrorism unilaterally and that there is some hope for a more cooperative U.S. policy.

Some participants emphasised the importance of bringing Russia into the "Western" sphere. Cooperation with the Russian government is key in addressing security threats such as deposits of nuclear materials, a large number of unemployed (or underpaid) nuclear scientists as well as instability in Central and South Asia.

In conclusion, the Chair and the officials thanked the participants for their insights. The challenge ahead for the Government of Canada is to design a long term international relations strategy. This will require some changes in conceptual thinking and public support. The narrow concept of national interest, the traditional view of war and peace, the complexity of Canada-U.S. relations – all need to be re-examined. Leadership will be required to raise awareness among the Canadian public about Canada's place in the world and the responsibilities that go with such leadership.

**The Impact of Sept. 11 on International Relations and Canada's Foreign Policy**

List of Participants

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa

November 27, 2001

**John Polanyi**
Department of Chemistry
University of Toronto

**Janice Stein**
Director
Munk Centre for International Studies

**Ross Goodwin**
Quebec Superior Court Judge

**Romeo Dallaire**
Lieutenant General
Canadian International Development Agency
(CIDA)

**John English**
Professor
Department of History
University of Waterloo

**Bob Rae**
Solicitor
Goodman Philips & Vineberg

**John Meisel**
Professor Emeritus
Department of Political Studies
Queen's University

**Joe Schlesinger**
CBC

**Ann Medina**
Medina Productions Inc.

**Yasmeen Abu-Laban**
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Alberta

**Joan Debardeleben**
Director
European and Russian Studies
Carleton University

**Stefan Opalski**
Skypoint/Cisco

**Wenran Jiang**
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Department of Political Science
University of Alberta

**John Higginbotham**
Assistant Deputy Minister
Communications, Culture and Policy Planning
DFAIT

**Bonny Berger**
Executive Assistant to ADM for
Communications, Culture and Policy Planning
DFAIT

**Lorenz Friedlaender**
Head of Policy Planning
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**Ronald MacIntosh**
Director
Policy Coordination Division
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**Steven Lee**
Executive Director
Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy
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**Julie Rechel**
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**Michael Wodzicki**
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DFAIT

**Jacqueline O'Neill**
Communications/Legislative Assistant
Office of the Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa)
DFAIT

**Katherine Cinq-Mars**
Special Projects Officer
Nuclear and Chemical Disarmament Implementation Agency
DFAIT

**Regrets:**

**Bill Graham**
MP and Chair
Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade

**Gerry Barr**
President
Canadian Council for International Cooperation

**Frank O'Dea**
Chair
Canadian Landmines Foundation

## Biographies of Participants

**Yasmeen Abu-Laban** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta. Her research interests centre on the Canadian and comparative dimensions of gender and ethnic politics, nationalism and globalization, immigration policies and politics, and citizenship theory. Her publications include articles in *International Politics*, *The Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Canadian Public Policy*, and *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. A co-authored book with Christina Gabriel entitled *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Globalization* is forthcoming in 2002.

**Lieutenant-General Romeo A. Dallaire, CMM, MSC, CD**
Born in Denekamp, Holland, on 25 June 1946, he enrolled in the Canadian Army in 1964 after four years in the Cadets and the Reserves. He attended Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean and graduated with a Bachelor of Sciences in 1969 from Royal Military College in Kingston. He also attended the Canadian Land Forces Command and Staff College and the United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College in Virginia. Promoted to the rank of brigadier-general on 3 July 1989, he assumed command of the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean. After studying at the British Higher Command and Staff Course, Camberly, United Kingdom in the spring of 1991, he was appointed Commander 5e Groupe-brigade mécanisé du Canada at Valcartier on 5 July 1991. He left Valcartier on 1 July 1993 to take command of the United Nations Observer Mission - Uganda and Rwanda (UNOMUR) and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). It is for this mission that he was awarded the Meritorious Service Cross. He was promoted to major-general on 1 January 1994. From September 1994 to October 1995, he assumed simultaneously the positions of Deputy Commander of Land Force Command in St. Hubert and Commander of the 1sr Canadian Division. On 2 June 1995, he was presented with "The Vimy Award" by the Conference of Defence Associations. On 20 October 1995, he assumed command of Land Force Quebec Area. In 1995, he was named Fellow of Ryerson Polytechnic University of Toronto and receives a Honoria causa doctorate from Sherbrooke University. On 9 January 1996, he was awarded the Legion of Merit medal by the United States. On 2 July 1996, he assumed the position of Chief of Staff of Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel) Group. Promoted to Lieutenant-General, he was appointed to the position of Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel) on 1 April 1998.

**Joan Debardeleben** is Professor and Director of the Institute of European and Russian Studies at Carleton University. She teaches courses on politics and society in Russia and the Soviet successor states. She has published widely on federalism, public opinion, electoral behavior, and environmental politics in the Russian Federation. She currently heads projects dealing with labour relations in Russian enterprises and fiscal federalism and elections in Russia. She is also Director of Carleton's Centre for European Studies which is currently involved in expanding attention to issues of European integration and EU enlargement in Carleton teaching and research programs.

**John English** (Ph.D. Harvard) is Professor of History at the University of Waterloo, Department Chair in 1989-91. He is the author of more than a dozen books including a several volume biography of Lester B. Pearson, and other works on Canadian history and politics and on Canadian foreign policy. He was National President of the Canadian Institute for International Affairs 1990-92. Elected to the House of Commons for Kitchener (Liberal) in 1993, he served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, and Chair of the Foreign Affairs Sub-committee on Human Rights. He is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, holds several prizes for non-fiction writers and was appointed to the Order of Canada in 2000.

**The Honourable Ross Goodwin**
Born in Quebec on July 2, 1938. Studied at the Collège des Jésuites. In 1958, he received a Bachelor of Arts and, in 1961, a Bachelor of Laws from the Université Laval in Québec. Called to the bar of Quebec the following year, he started his own firm. When he was appointed to the bench, his firm was called Goodwin, De Blois, Parent & Associés. Appointed to the Quebec Superior Court on March 24, 1983. Appointed to the Yukon Supreme Court on December 13, 1995. Appointed to the Court Martial Appeal Court of Canada on June 23, 1999.

**Bill Graham** was first elected to Parliament in October 1993. He was elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in January 1995 and has been re-elected every year since then. Mr. Graham serves as Chair of the Liaison Committee of the House of Commons, which is the committee made up of all Standing Committee Chairs. In July 1997, he was elected Vice President of the 55 nation Parliamentary Association of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE PA) and in 1999 was elected its Treasurer. In March of 2001 he was elected to a 2 year term as the president of the newly formed Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas (FIPA). Mr. Graham also served as Treasurer of Liberal International, an organization of Liberal parties around the world, from 1996 to 2000. Prior to being elected to Parliament, he was a Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, where he taught International Trade Law, Public International Law and the Law of the European Community. He holds a B.A. (Honours) and L.L.B. degrees from the University of Toronto and a Doctorate (Sciences juridiques) from the Université de Paris. He is the author and co-author of several books and articles in his field of expertise. Mr. Graham is a member of the Bar for the provinces of Ontario and Saskatchewan. From 1979 to 1987 he was President of the Alliance Française de Toronto. In April of 1985 he was made a Chevalier de Légion d'Honneur de la France, and in 1999 Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Pléiade as well as receiving the Ordre du Mérit de l'Association des Juristes de l'Ontario, all in recognition for his contribution to the French language in Ontario. In 1998 he was made an honorary life member of the Canadian Council of International Law in recognition for his work in the field of International Law. He is also an Honourary Member of the Order of the Knights of Rizal.

**Wenran Jiang** (Ph.D. Carleton University, M.A. International University of Japan, B.A. Peking University) is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Alberta. His teaching and research focus on development studies, human rights, East Asian political economy/diplomacy and global security issues. He has worked and taught in both China and

Japan in the 1980s. Dr. Jiang is twice a Japan Foundation Fellow (1989-90, 1999-2000), visiting scholar at Hitotsubashi University and Tokyo University in Tokyo. He conducts field research in East Asia regularly. Dr. Jiang was a Canadian academic participant in the first CIDA-sponsored human rights project with China and contributed two book chapters published in both English and Chinese. He also participated in a number of Roundtables organized by DFAIT/CCFPD, and consultation sessions by DFAIT's China and Japan Divisions in the past few years. Dr. Jiang has just completed a book manuscript, *Japan's China Policy 1978-2000*. His recent publications include "The Japanese Assessment of the 'China Threat'," book chapter in Herbert Yee and Ian James Story, eds., *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myths and Reality*, London: Curzon Press, forthcoming; and "Should Japan Discontinue Joint Research on the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) System with the USA?" Co-authored with Kori Urayama, book chapter in Katsuhiko Mori, ed., *Debato de manabu kokusai kankei* (Studying International Relations Through Debate), Tamagawa University Press, 2001.

**Ann Medina** grew up in New York City. She has a BA from Wellesley College and an MA in philosophy from the University of Chicago. In the U.S., she was a Network Producer for NBC News and a Network Correspondent and Documentary Producer for ABC News. In 1975, Ms. Medina moved to Canada to marry a Canadian. She worked for CBC's Newsmagazine where she later became its Executive Producer. She then joined CBC's The Journal to become its Senior Foreign Correspondent, and Beirut Bureau Chief for CBC's The National and The Journal. Her documentaries aired regularly on BBC's Newsnight and PBS' MacNeil-Lehrer Report, and won numerous awards in Canada and in the United States, including an Emmy Award. She continues to contribute in the field of journalism moderating the Federal Election Debates and hosting History Television's History on Film. Recently, Ms. Medina has also moved into the broader area of communications and technology. Ms. Medina served on the Advisory Board to Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy and is Past Chair of the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, Past Chair of the Cultural Industries Council of Ontario, and served on the Board of TVOntario. She has received honorary degrees from the University of Toronto, the University of King's College in Halifax, the University of New Brunswick and Brock University.

**John Meisel** is the former Chair of the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. He is Professor Emeritus at Queen's University in the Department of Political Studies, and researches and teaches cultural policy. He holds a BA and MA from the University of Toronto, a Ph.D.(Econ) from the LSE, and Honorary Degrees from Brock, Calgary, Carleton, Guelph, Queen's, Regina, Toronto, Ottawa, Waterloo, and Laval. He has taught at Queen's since 1949, been a Visiting Professor at Yale (1985-86), and a Distinguished Commonwealth Visiting Professor, United Kingdom, 1979. From 1980-83 he was Chairman of the CRTC. Research areas include: Cultural and science policies, Canadian politics, particularly questions of community cohesion and national unity; Quebec politics; voting behaviour and parties. He conducted the first two national election studies in Canada. Professor Meisel was the founding editor of the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* and of the *International Political Science Review*.

**Frank O'Dea** has triumphed over adversity to become one of Canada's most successful and celebrated entrepreneurs, founding numerous businesses, including The Second Cup. In addition to his string of business successes, Frank's achievements in the not-for-profit sector, both in Canada and worldwide, are extraordinary. His ideas on leadership, entrepreneurship and visionary thinking make him a compelling and sought after speaker. Mr. O'Dea's breadth of experience provides him with the opportunity to speak on a number of topics such as "The Spirit of the Entrepreneur" and "Beyond the Strategic Plan". He is an inspiring, candid and compelling speaker who has been invited to share his expertise to many organizations including: The United Nations, Royal and Sun Alliance, Ford Motor Co., Produce Marketing Board of Canada, Remax Group of Owner's/Brokers, Brantford Home Builders Association, Family Services Association of Toronto, International Facility of Management Association, Canadian Club of Canada, Acadia University School of business, Canadian Society of Association Executive, Small Business Club of Niagara to name a few.

**Stefan Opalski** is a professional engineer with almost 20 years' experience working in Ottawa's high-tech industry for local telecommunication and silicon chip design organizations. In 1996 Mr. Opalski co-founded Skystone Systems. The Company was acquired by Cisco Systems and Mr. Opalski headed the Cisco Ottawa development group until late 1998 when he joined Skypoint. Prior to co-founding Skystone, Mr. Opalski worked at Nortel (formerly Bell-Northern Research) for 15 years. Mr. Opalski received his Bachelor of Electrical Engineering and Master of Electronics Engineering degrees from the Technical University of Warsaw in Poland.

**John Charles Polanyi**
Educated at Manchester University, England, he was a postdoctoral fellow at Princeton University, U.S.A. and the National Research Council, Canada. He is presently a faculty member in the Department of Chemistry at the University of Toronto. His research is on the molecular motions in chemical reactions in gases and at surfaces. He is a Fellow of the Royal Societies of Canada (F.R.S.C.), of London (F.R.S.), and of Edinburgh (F.R.S.E.), also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Pontifical Academy of Rome and the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada (P.C.), an Officer of the Order of Canada (O.C.), 1974, subsequently Companion of the Order of Canada (C.C.), 1979. His awards include the 1986 Nobel Prize in chemistry, the Royal Medal of the Royal Society of London, and some thirty honorary degrees from six countries. He has served on the Prime Minister of Canada's Advisory Board on Science and Technology, the Premier's Council of Ontario, as Foreign Honorary Advisor to the Institute for Molecular Sciences, Japan, and as Honorary Advisor to the Max Planck Institute for Quantum Optics, Germany. He is presently on the Board of the Steacie Institute for Molecular Sciences, Canada. He was a founding member of both the Committee on Scholarly Freedom of the Royal Society, and a further international human rights organization, the Canadian Committee for Scientists and Scholars, of which he is the current President. Additionally he was the founding Chairman of the Canadian Pugwash Group in 1960, and has been active for 35 years in International Pugwash. He has written extensively on science policy, the control of armaments, and peacekeeping. He is co-editor of a book, *The Dangers of Nuclear War*, and was a participant in the recent Canada 21

study of a 21st-century defence posture for Canada. He was co-chair (with Sir Brian Urquhart) of the Department of Foreign Affairs International Consultative Committee on a Rapid Response Capability for the United Nations.

**Hon. Robert Keith Rae,** P.C., O.C., Q.C., L.L.D
Bob Rae is a partner at the Goodmans law firm. His clients include companies, trade unions, charitable and non- governmental organizations, and governments themselves. He has extensive experience in negotiation, mediation and arbitration, and consults widely on issues of public policy. Mr. Rae served as Ontario's 21st Premier, and was elected eight times to federal and provincial parliaments before his retirement from politics in 1996. Mr. Rae has a B.A. and an LLB from the University of Toronto and was a Rhodes Scholar from Ontario in 1969. He obtained a B.Phil degree from Oxford University in 1971 and was named a Queen's Counsel in 1984. Mr. Rae received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1998 and from the University of Toronto in 1999. Mr. Rae was appointed to Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada in 1998 and was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2001. Mr. Rae is a panel member of the Canadian Internal Trade Disputes Tribunal, and is on the international commercial arbitrators list of the Canadian Council for International Business, and ADR Chambers. Mr. Rae is the Chairman of the Forum of Federations, Chairman of the Royal Conservatory of Music, and Chairman of the Institute for Research on Public Policy. He is also a member of the Security and Intelligence Review Committee for Canada, and served recently as a member of the Canada Transportation Act Review. Mr. Rae is a governor of the University of Toronto and a trustee of the University Health Network. He also serves as director of Tembec Ltd., Niigon Technologies Ltd., and is Chairman Invesprint, Inc. Mr. Rae's books *From Protest to Power* and *The Three Questions* have been published by Penguin Viking of Canada. Mr. Rae is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Toronto and Senior Fellow of Massey College.

**Joe Schlesinger**
Born in Vienna in 1928, his parents were killed in The Holocaust. In 1948, he got his first journalistic job as a translator at the Prague bureau of the Associated Press. When the communists took over in Czechoslovakia and started arresting AP staffers, he fled across the Iron Curtain to Austria and in 1950 came to Canada. He started in Canada by working on construction jobs in Vancouver and on B.C. coastal ships. In 1951, he enrolled at the University of British Columbia, wandered into the Ubyssey, the UBC's student newspaper, and eventually became its editor-in-chief. He then worked as a reporter for the Vancouver Province and the Toronto Star, as an editor at the UPI bureau in London, England, and at the European Herald Tribune in Paris. In 1964, he was named assistant managing editor of the Paris Trib. In 1966, he returned to Canada and joined the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. in Toronto. Except for a brief stint as foreign editor of the Toronto Star, he has been with the CBC ever since. He served both as executive producer of The National and head of CBC TV News. In early 1990s became the CBC's Chief Political Correspondent in Ottawa. In 1994, Joe retired from the CBC news service. He has, however, continued to contribute to CBC Television programs, first as the host for five years of his own foreign affairs show on Newsworld, and now is co-host and contributor to Newsworld's "Foreign Assignment" program. Joe has been honoured a number of times for his journalism. He won

three Gemini awards and the John Drainie award for distinguished contribution to broadcasting. He was awarded honourary doctorates by UBC, The Royal Military College and Dalhousie University. In 1994, he was named a member of the Order of Canada.

**Janice Gross Stein** was the 2001 CBC Massey Lecturer ("The Cult of Efficiency"). She is the Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies and Harrowston Professor of Conflict Management and Negotiation in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. She is an acknowledged expert on conflict resolution and international relations, with an emphasis on the Middle East. She received her undergraduate degree from McGill University, her master's from Yale University, and returned to McGill for doctoral studies. She joined U of T in 1982 and was named a University Professor in 1996. A Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, she has received other honours, including the Edgar S. Furniss Jr. Award of the Mershon Center, in recognition of her contribution to the study of national security and civilian military education. She has served on many international advisory panels, including membership in the Working Group on Middle East Negotiations at the United States Institute of Peace. She also appears weekly as a foreign affairs commentator on both TV Ontario's Studio 2 and Diplomatic Immunity.

**Chair:**

**Steven Lee** is the Executive Director of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (since its founding in 1996) at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He is a former Adjunct Professor UNESCO Chair for Human Rights ,and a former Research Associate at the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. He is a graduate of the American-European Summer Academy, Austria, a Norman MacKenzie (undergraduate) scholar at the University of British Columbia, and holds an MA (Honours, Political Studies) University of Auckland, New Zealand. Most recent publication "Real Borders in a Not So Borderless World" in Canada Among Nations (Oxford), June 2000.

**Rapporteur:**

**Marketa Geislerova** is Policy Analyst and Rapporteur for the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. She holds a BA in Eastern European and Russian Area Studies and a Masters degree in Political Science from Carleton University. She has published in Canadian Foreign Policy and assisted in Canadian Studies abroad.

**Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade:**

**John P. Higginbotham** was appointed to the position of Assistant Deputy Minister for Communications, Culture and Policy Planning in early 2001. Prior to this appointment, he served as Minister (Political/Transboundary Affairs) at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. from 1994. He was responsible for Canada-U.S. bilateral and multilateral Political, Immigration, Fisheries, Federal/Provincial (including National Unity), Environmental, Intelligence and Security issues. He was Commissioner for Canada (i.e. Consul General) in Hong Kong from 1989-1994. Mr. Higginbotham was born in Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada.

He graduated from the University of Saskatchewan in Economics and undertook Graduate Studies in Development economics on a Fellowship at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. He then obtained his M.A. in International Economics from McGill on a Fellowship and joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. After an assignment at the United Nations in New York, he undertook two years of full-time Chinese (Mandarin) training at a British military facility in Hong Kong, and was assigned to the Canadian Embassy in Beijing doing trade and economic work for the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. He returned to Ottawa to head the China Section at Headquarters from 1975-77, served on the Policy Planning staff of the Department for two years and was subsequently sent by the Department to Harvard for a year as a Fellow of the Center for International Affairs where he worked on international economic subjects. Mr. Higginbotham returned to Beijing from 1980-82 as Counsellor and Head of Chancery, responsible for political, economic and management issues at the Embassy. He returned again to Ottawa in 1982 and became Director of the International Economic Relations Division (1982-1985) where he was responsible for Economic Summits and the OECD, and Director General of the Policy Planning Staff (1985-89) where he was responsible for a wide range of major Canadian trade policy, (especially the Free Trade Agreement) and foreign policy issues including a comprehensive Parliamentary review of Canada's International Relations. Mr. Higginbotham speaks English, French and Chinese. He is married to Michèle Allard Higginbotham and has two sons.

**Lorenz Friedlaender** joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1971. Since October, 2000 he is Head of Policy Planning, Policy Planning Secretariat. He has previously served at the Privy Council Office as Assistant Secretary, Policy and Strategy, Intergovernmental Affairs, (1999-00), as well as Director of Strategic Planning, Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat (1997-99). He was Minister at the Canadian Embassy in Bonn (1993-97); Director, Central and Eastern Europe Relations Division in Ottawa (1991-93); Minister-Counsellor in Brussels (1987-91); attended the Royal College of Defence Studies in London (1987); Director, Caribbean and Central America Relations Division in Ottawa (1985-86); Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister (Political Affairs) in Ottawa (1983-85); Deputy Director (Economic) Western European Division in Ottawa (1981-83); First Secretary & Consul in Prague (1979-81); First Secretary, Permanent Mission New York (1977-79); Desk Officer, Western European Division in Ottawa (1974-77); Third/Second Secretary in Brussels-NAC (1972-74); Third Secretary & Vice-Consul in Vienna (June to September 1972); Protocol, East Asia, Commercial Policy Divisions in Ottawa (1971-72). Mr. Friedlaender is married and has three children.

**Ron MacIntosh** was born in Nova Scotia but spent his youth in Toronto. He is a graduate of Dalhousie University (BA Political Science) and Carleton University (MA International Affairs). After working briefly in the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. MacIntosh joined the Department of External Affairs in 1975 and, between a number of headquarters assignments focussed mainly on economic and trade issues, he has had postings in Barbados, Tokyo, Seoul and, most recently, in Washington DC as Counsellor (Environment and Fisheries). In the summer of 2001 Mr. MacIntosh was named Director of a new division in the Policy Planning

Secretariat concerned with providing advice and analysis on the links between Canada's economic and trade objectives and our foreign policy interests and between our overseas policies and activities and Canada's economic and social priorities at home.

**Bonny Berger** was appointed to the position of Executive Assistant to the Assistant Deputy Minister for Communications, Culture and Policy Planning in September 2000. Prior to this appointment, she served as Senior Trade Commissioner and Vice-Consul at the Canadian Consulate General in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam from 1998, following an initial period at the Canadian Embassy in Hanoi, Vietnam. She was Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister for International Trade from 1996-97 and from 1994-96 served as Departmental Assistant and Advisor to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in Ottawa. She graduated from the University of Montreal with a Bachelor of Arts in Italian and German Literature and completed MA studies in Interpreting and Translation at the University of Trieste in Italy. Ms. Berger has served in Paris, Seoul, New Delhi, and Tokyo. She speaks English, French, Italian, Spanish, German and is conversant in Arabic, Korean and Vietnamese. She enjoys Scottish country dancing, swimming, aerobics and tennis. She has received an award for excellence in service to the public from the British Columbia Ministry of Tourism.